B U L L E T I N O F

Friends Historical Association

Vol. 35 Autumn Number, 1946 No. 2

CONTENTS

PAGE

Theodore Dreiser's Quaker Novel 51

Dreiser's *Bulwark* and Philadelphia Quakerism
CARROLL T. BROWN 52

Theodore Dreiser to Rufus M. Jones 62

Constitution and Bylaws 63

Spring Meeting, 1946 68

Lucretia Mott and the Philadelphia Antislavery Fairs
N. ORWIN RUSH 69

Quaker Research in Progress 76

Book Reviews 79

Articles in Quaker Periodicals 82

Briefer Notices 88

Officers of Friends Historical Association 50

Committees of Friends Historical Association ..*Inside back cover*

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE should be addressed to the Secretary, Susanna Smedley, Westtown School, Westtown, Pennsylvania.

EDITORIAL MATTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS submitted for publication should be sent to the Editor, Thomas E. Drake, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS should be sent to Anna B. Hewitt, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania. (See notice regarding membership on inside front cover.)

The BULLETIN is sent to members free of charge. Libraries may subscribe through the Editor's office at one dollar per annum. Single numbers are sold for one dollar.

OFFICERS OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President: William Wistar Comfort
Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Vice-Presidents: Horace Mather Lippincott
Lydia Flagg Gummere

Secretary: Susanna Smedley
Westtown School, Westtown, Pennsylvania

Treasurer: I. Thomas Steere
30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Curator: Lydia Flagg Gummere
3026 Midvale Avenue, Philadelphia 29

Assistant Curator: M. Joseph McCosker
Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia 6

Editor of Bulletin: Thomas E. Drake
Assistant Editor: Anna B. Hewitt
Haverford College Library
Haverford, Pennsylvania

DIRECTORS

Elected at the annual meeting held Eleventh mo. 28, 1945

Term expires 11 mo. 1946

Samuel J. Bunting, Jr. — Thomas E. Drake
William W. Comfort — Lydia F. Gummere
Anna B. Hewitt

Term expires 11 mo. 1947

Horace M. Lippincott — I. Thomas Steere
Susanna Smedley — E. Virginia Walker
Edward Woolman

Term expires 11 mo. 1948

C. Marshall Taylor — Edward E. Wildman
Frederick B. Tolles — H. Justice Williams

BULLETIN OF
Friends
Historical Association

Vol. 35 Autumn Number, 1946 No. 2

THEODORE DREISER'S QUAKER NOVEL

THE FIGURE of the Quaker as a subject for treatment in drama, poetry, and prose fiction is one which has attracted many writers over many years. The novel in particular is the medium which has best lent itself to exploiting the dramatic conflict between religious beliefs and the "ways of the world" in which Friends have often found themselves. In the check list of Quaker fiction in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library, for instance, are 431 titles, of which 249 of the volumes themselves may be found in the Library. Recent years have even shown an increase in the number of "Quaker novels," as such fiction may be called, the most important, as far as general interest is concerned, being Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark,* published posthumously by Doubleday and Company early in 1946. So great was the interest in this and other recent Quaker fiction that the Haverford Library Associates devoted a meeting to the subject on May 19, 1946, at which the speakers were Francis R. Taylor, who is himself a collector of Quaker fiction, Rufus M. Jones, who had known Theodore Dreiser, and Richmond P. Miller, who read the proof of Dreiser's book for the publisher.

With this by way of explanation, we are pleased to be able to present a critical review article on Dreiser's *Bulwark* and Philadelphia Quakerism by Carroll T. Brown, Master of English at Westtown School, and to print a letter of Dreiser to Rufus Jones, the original of which has been presented to the Haverford Library's Quaker Collection. The fact that Dreiser addressed Rufus Jones at Swarthmore College is perhaps an indication that in the public mind the growing unity in Philadelphia Quakerism is already an accomplished fact!—*Editor.*

DREISER'S *BULWARK* AND PHILADELPHIA QUAKERISM

By Carroll T. Brown

FRIENDS WILL READ this book with strong to violent disapproval. I propose in this review to suggest some of the reasons for this feeling and at the end to deprecate this negative attitude and to advise Friends to read the book seriously, taking it for what it primarily is and not for what it is only secondarily, a picture of a special phase of Philadelphia Quakerism "late in the nineteenth century."

This novel tells the story of Solon Barnes, the son of a Maine Quaker couple, Rufus and Hannah Barnes. By quite natural devices Dreiser moves his shrewd, devout farm-storekeeping New Englanders to the neighborhood of Philadelphia, to a place called Dukla (Uwchlan), twenty-five miles from Philadelphia and six from Trenton, in Pennsylvania. They take up their residence, with their two children, Cynthia and Solon, the hero of the story, in a very large house, quite dilapidated and long unused, surrounded by immense lawns and gardens all in a state of melancholy decay. It is around this estate of Thornbrough that the story centers.

What is this novel about? For one thing it is a picture of the break-up of a Quaker family under the stress of money and changing times and customs. Another theme, common to Dreiser, is the rebellion of the younger generation against their misunderstanding elders. To a lesser degree it is a satirical picture of the crooked and near crooked dealings of financial magnates, another favorite Dreiserian motive. But it is safe to say that the central theme, for Dreiser, was a religious theme. In his later years, like so many modern writers, he became interested in mysticism. After a long series of naturalistic novels, he found himself caught up in the contemporary trend toward mysticism. Aldous Huxley is the most read and most talked of writer in this field. Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge* is an example of another naturalist turning remuneratively to the current fad, if fad it is. It is an interesting fact that Dreiser was born a Roman Catholic and reacted violently against his father's faith.

Yet, as so often happens, his early religious training made its impression on his deepest self, and at the end of his life he returned, not to be sure to Catholicism, but to some of the spiritual elements in his faith. And however unsatisfactory Friends may find the book as a picture of Quakerism, I think a careful reader will find the religious element far more convincing than the corresponding element in *The Razor's Edge,* which to this reviewer seemed actually absurd in its artificial and carefully boned up orientalism. And it would be painful to imagine the other famous naturalist, Sinclair Lewis, even attempting a sympathetic portrayal of inner spiritual religion.

The central theme, therefore, is a religious theme. The novel tells the story of Solon Barnes, a deeply religious Quaker who conscientiously tries to open his heart to the intimations of the Inner Light, who marries happily, who becomes rich but not worldly, and who has the tragic experience of seeing his family of five children in their different ways desert the ancestral religion. Isobel, plain, self-conscious, frustrated, neglected, the living image of girls we all know, goes to Llewellyn College (Bryn Mawr) and finally finds peace as the assistant to the professor of psychology there. Orville grows up a proper, shallow, conventional youth, marries money and settles into a formal, comfortable routine. The only detail missing is that we are not told that he became an Episcopalian, as his prototypes did in real life. Dorothea, a charming, lively girl, not exactly rebellious but eager to branch out into the luxurious life about her, goes to Bryn Mawr but finally escapes into a world of well-bred fashion and culture. Etta who next to Isobel is the realist of the children leaves Bryn Mawr for the University of Wisconsin, finally goes to New York City, to the inevitable Greenwich Village, meets the inevitable artist, undertakes the inevitable posing, and enters upon the inevitable irregular connection with him, and experiences the inevitable break, and heartbreak. Dreiser makes her the one who in her father's broken old age returns to him, understands him, loves him and is loved deeply in return, to the exasperated puzzlement of her conventional brothers and sisters. Stewart, the last of the five, while a student at Franklin Hall (Haverford College), commits suicide after a

sordid escapade involving rape, medicine drops that kill a girl, and a wretched debacle all around. The mother of these children, Benecia, is always there, is a lovely and real person, but does not play any important part in the story.

When a modern reader reads Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* he seems to be viewing an integrated picture of a well defined society, all the separate details of which fit together into a whole. But doubtless if that historical novel could have been read by a contemporary of the lion-hearted Richard, he would have been struck by all sorts of absurdities, for each of which doubtless Scott could have cited documentary evidence. The secular reviewers of *The Bulwark* that I have read have not noted and probably did not perceive the incongruities within this apparently integrated Quaker world. But to the initiated Quaker they are manifest and it is probably these incongruities, these improbable juxtapositions of details all of which might well be documented, that annoy the Quaker readers of this book more than anything else. These errors are large and small, obvious and subtle. Let me cite a few typical examples. The first has to do with the recurring theme of the whole novel, the Inner Light. Would any Friend, whether Hicksite or Orthodox, about the year 1890, use religious terms in just this way? A poor woman with a wayward and ailing son arises in Dukla Meeting and speaks:

"I am seeking the aid and guidance of the Inner Light. My son, William, whom some of you may know—William Etheridge, who worked here in Dukla some years ago—has returned to me sick and injured, for since he has been away he has lost his right arm, and now he has some illness, the nature of which I do not know. Dr. Payton, our Friend, is attending him, but I fear he may die. I know that many know that he has not been a good boy and has caused some others here trouble. Yet he is my only son and the Inner Light, that I have always sought to follow, assures me that a mother's love should not fail her son. Just now I am without sufficient means, having been ill myself, but I ask the prayers and faith of this particular meeting, since my son is very, very ill." (p. 42.)

This appeal deeply affected the meeting, and the wife of Solon Barnes, Benecia Barnes, a loving and whole hearted

woman, rises under great concern and responds. But in her response Dreiser has her use language which no Friend of that place and period speaking to or of another Friend would use, although it is not surprising that the novelist fell into this error. Benecia Barnes begins her response thus: "As Mrs. Etheridge has prayed and appealed to the Inner Light." Of course she would actually have called her by her full name, such as Leah Etheridge or possibly, if she did not know her name, and she probably did not, she would have simply said Our Friend. Such are the pitfalls that await a historical novelist.

It is probably known to most readers of this journal that a copy of the galley proofs of *The Bulwark,* which of course had been printed from Dreiser's manuscript, was sent to Richmond Miller to have the specifically Quaker references checked. I have gone over this galley proof, now in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library. It immediately becomes obvious that the freedom from error in the final text in the matter of the right use of the plain language is due to this correcting process. Quakers who read books about Quakerism written by non-Friends always expect to find the most glaring errors. To be sure one must be wary in criticising what seem errors in Quaker pronoun usage since in actual life almost every possible combination and monstrosity is or has been in use. My own mother, years ago, was greeted by a very cultivated English hostess, a member of the chocolate branch of the family, with: "Are thee nicely?" Now certainly if a Quaker reviewer of a book about Quakerism had found that curiosity, he would have pounced on it. In one passage (p. 95) there are two examples of passing in one sentence from *thee* to *you,* one of which is incorrect or at least implausible and the other at least plausible. Probably many readers of this review often change within one sentence from the singular to the plural pronoun, or the reverse and it is interesting to analyze under what circumstances this is done. In the first sentence that I shall quote, Benecia is talking to Solon, to whom she is unofficially engaged to be married. Her mood is one of tenderness and love and she has just used *thee* in the previous sentence. Then Dreiser has her say: "You know my life belongs to thee, Solon." To be sure

that error, if error it is, is in the right order. For in that mood, if by chance she had begun with *you,* it was natural to change over to the more intimate *thee.*

On the same page there is another similar change of pronoun, this time quite appropriate. Benecia's father, Justus Wallin, a formal, honest, worldly, and wealthy Friend, is discussing with Solon the relationship between Solon and his daughter. He is very well disposed toward the young man but wants the young people to wait a year or two before becoming formally engaged, and he says: "I know you are making good progress in the bank, but a year has not gone by since thee started there." The psychological processes back of that change are natural. As a worldly man accustomed to the language of the world he starts with *you,* but as he proceeds in this sentence addressed to a young person whom he likes and who will almost certainly be the husband of his only and much loved daughter, the warmth of his feelings naturally and unconsciously brings to his lips the domestic and intimate *thee.* It would be very interesting to know whether Dreiser was aware that he was changing the pronouns or whether it was purely accidental. If he knew what he was doing in this latter case, it indicates a remarkable insight of the creative imagination into Quaker feeling and usage.

It is an interesting fact that in the whole book, with a great deal of religious thinking and preaching and talking, the name of Jesus or Christ is, I believe not once used, or if used a few times, it escaped my notice. Now even in the most narrowly unitarian and moralistic Quakerism this certainly would not be possible at the turn of the century. Still less probable is it in the Quakerism exemplified by Solon Barnes and Dukla Meeting. For there is not a word in the book about good works, or social reform. Solon is a pietistic Quaker, successful in his worldly affairs, unaware of the movements in the world about him, deeply religious in a personal manner. Under such circumstances at that period his religious thinking would certainly have been expressed in specifically Christian terms such as the Living Christ, the Christ Within, the Spirit of Jesus, Our Lord and Saviour, and others of the same sort.

To conclude this matter of appropriate language, there is one interesting inconsistency in the language of the book that illustrates the pitfalls awaiting anyone who writes of matters of religion. The very first sentence of the novel consists of the words spoken by Solon Barnes at his marriage to Benecia Wallin and they contain an error: "In the presence of *our Lord* and of this assembly," etc. On page 99, where the story of his youth catches up to the day of his marriage, the words are repeated, but correctly spoken: "In the presence of *the Lord* and of this assembly." How could Dreiser have known that the term *Our Lord* means Jesus, whereas *The Lord* means God? It should be added that the first few pages of the novel, the Introduction, were not included in the galley proof.

On this matter of wrong usage and corrections it might be interesting to note a few specific instances. *Consistent* was substituted for the original *true* in the following sentence: "He disliked being looked upon as a merely professing Quaker rather than a basically *true* one," (p. 39); *committee* was substituted for *executives*: "Was he not one of the *committee,* as well as an alumnus, of Oakwold Boarding Academy?" (p. 40); *message* for *statement*: "Immediately after Hannah's prayer or *message* at the meeting" (p. 48); *you* for *thee:* "Well, have *you* two found plenty to talk about?" (p. 54); *responses* for *reaction*: "Testify concerning his own personal *responses* to the Inner Light" (p. 58). However, some other editorial hand has been at work a few times, for the book as printed occasionally follows neither Dreiser nor the galley corrections. Dreiser wrote: "He rose in meeting on several First-days and testified, and the ministers and elders felt that he showed great promise as a future elder [this should be minister] and that he ought to be encouraged to take an active part in *Church* work." The corrector suggested "in meeting work." The final text reads "in the Friends' religious labors" (p. 105). Another case is more interesting. Dreiser wrote: "[they] would partake of a simple but abundant meal, preceded and followed always *by an offering of grace.*" The corrector suggested "by a period of silent grace." The final text reads "by a period of grace" (p. 110).

The Book Find News for March, 1946, informs us that in preparation for writing *The Bulwark* Dreiser read, among other sources, *The Life of George Fox, Annals of Early Friends, The Book of Discipline, The Journal of John Woolman.* No mention is made of his having read any of the autobiographical books of Rufus Jones but it is obvious early in the book that he had taken some of his material directly from *Finding the Trail of Life.* This freebooting, of course, is what all writers indulge in and there is nothing in the least unsuitable in Dreiser's using any relevant material. It is interesting to compare an original passage from *Finding the Trail of Life* by Rufus Jones with the corresponding episode in *The Bulwark.* One example is found in an early chapter on the boyhood of Solon Barnes. The first selection is from the autobiography.

The other event was far more personal and intimate. The next summer, when I was ten years old, I passed through a serious illness which profoundly changed my outlook on life. It began with a slight bruise on my foot, the kind to which no country boy pays much attention. I let it go until I had a deep infection. The doctor came, a kindly man, who had helped to bring me into the world, but who knew not a thing about antiseptic surgery. He sharpened his lancet on a scythe stone from the barn and then thrust it into my foot. His intention was well meant but he loaded my foot with a new infection which brought me very close to death's doors. I lost a whole year of school and in the long period of pain and fear I was brought face to face with issues of life and death which most small boys escape. . . . I woke up one morning wondering whether I should ever get well again and rather inclined to the negative conclusion. I dimly felt that I was going from bad to worse and that there was no earthly future for me. When the time came to dress my foot that morning a piece of bone was seen coming through the opening in it. I felt sure that this was the beginning of the end. I was plainly breaking up and going to pieces! What hope could there be when my bones were coming out! I broke down and wept with all the sense of tragedy that breaks over a child's sky. At this crisis, Aunt Peace came with her oil and balm. She could not deny that the bone was coming out, for there it was, and she did not question that I was passing through a dark tunnel in my little journey here on earth, but she insisted that it was only a "tunnel," and that I would soon emerge into the light and joy of life again. And then with her prophetess face all lighted up with the warmth and glow of her vision, she said: "This is not the end; this is the beginning. There are much better things ahead than behind. God is going to make thy coming days thy best days." My fear vanished, my

discouragement disappeared. I was ready to live again. In her faith I had found my own.[1]

The following is Dreiser's reworking of this in *The Bulwark*:

It was on one of these trips [to the woods in the Maine winter to help his father cut firewood] that his freshly sharpened ax slipped on a bole and cut into the bone above his left ankle, causing a wound which instantly needed cleansing and dressing, but which it did not receive for several hours, his mother bathing and bandaging it as best she could. Later the one local doctor in the community, having been called, was not only slow in coming but was so little versed in surgical and medical knowledge that, having first opened and looked at the wound, which Solon's father had bound with his handkerchief and some strips of rag, he proceeded to grind his lancet, with which he proposed to trim and cleanse the wound, on a scythe stone from the family barn!

The result was infection—an infection so severe that, although the wound was repeatedly cleansed and dressed by his mother, it, along with his general physical condition, grew so bad that not only his mother but Solon himself sensed in some new and strange way that he was close to the last great change. As for Hannah, she was shaken and tortured by the thought that she might lose her boy, and her white strained face revealed it. For, at the last stage, a second doctor had been called in to examine the wound, which appeared to have broken afresh. In fact when Solon saw it as it was being dressed, he, who was rarely given to crying at any time, burst into tears, particularly since it was his mother who undid the bandage and whose saintly, serious face quite unconsciously revealed to him the extreme concern she felt.

Dressing it as he wept, she suddenly paused, and her face, Solon saw, bore that reverent pallor that so often characterized it when she addressed God of a morning or an evening. Now she was silent, yet in her countenance were strength and faith as well as supplication as she looked upward, and so stood for minutes. Then, turning her head and looking downward into the still wet eyes of her son and speaking as solemnly and as impressively as one in a trance, she said: "Do not cry, Solon, my son, thy life and health have only now been given into my keeping. This is not the end for thee — it is but the beginning. God is going to make thy coming days thy best. Thee will live to serve him in love and truth." And saying this she laid her right hand on his forehead and turned her eyes upward. And in the silence that followed, her young son suddenly felt a change for the better. Fear left him, and he was ready to live again, believing, as he now did, that he would surely get well, as he did. (Pp. 19-20.)

[1] Rufus M. Jones, *Finding the Trail of Life* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926), pp. 41-44, with the permission of the publisher.

For the non-Quaker reader probably the most interesting thing about *The Bulwark* is the evidence it affords that at the end of his life Dreiser seems to have outgrown the bitterness of his earlier years. Something like a religious experience had come to him, a vision of a meaning and a pattern in the apparently meaningless suffering, selfishness, and wavering flux of life that he pictures so savagely and depressingly in his famous early books. Solon Barnes in his last months, deepened and made tender by the break-up of his whole family life, watches a beautiful green fly devour a small bud. "Then, after bending down and examining a blade of grass here, a climbing vine there, a minute flower, lovely and yet as inexplicable as his green fly, he turned in a kind of religious awe and wonder. Surely there must be a Creative Divinity, and so a purpose, behind all of this variety and beauty and tragedy of life. For see how tragedy had descended upon him, and still he had faith, and would have." (p. 317.) This is the discovery that Dreiser thought he had made in the last years of his life and this for him doubtless was the central thesis of *The Bulwark*.

Unsatisfactory as this novel will seem to Quaker readers, it would be a pity to dismiss it too cavalierly. For despite the errors in language, custom, tone, nuance and emphasis, the central plot is a Quaker plot and has always been with us: what happens when Quaker piety and simplicity are caught up into a world of creaturely activity and wealth? The disintegration of Quaker families under the impact of worldly living, or if not the actual moral degradation, the loss to the Society of such families, has long been a matter of observation and comment. In its essential feature Dreiser's book is true to life.

It seems clear that Dreiser considered that the universal mystical religion of Solon Barnes' last months constitutes a triumph of the spiritual nature of man over the natural man. Yet a person somewhat read in the history of the Christian Church may not be so sure as Dreiser was that this triumph is a real triumph. Solon's world went to pieces. His religious faith was not a specifically Christian faith. And one lesson that Friends might perhaps carry away from this novel is the reflection that

a pietistic, universal mysticism is not a sound basis for a religious society.

In conclusion a brief word might be said about *The Bulwark* as a piece of writing. Is it a significant novel that will add to the body of permanently significant American literature and to the fame of its author? The answer is certainly *no*. The grounds for this opinion need not be given here, but among them is not the fact that certain aspects of Quaker life are inaccurately reported. That Dreiser was dealing with material that had to be worked up rather than with the stuff of American life which had been part of his own experience doubtless had some bearing on the failure of the novel to attain genuine significance. Having said this much, I may repeat my earlier observation that Friends will do well to read *The Bulwark*.

The style of this novel, typical of Dreiser in its uninspired pedestrianism, brings up a question that has often puzzled the writer of this review. Why is it that few, if any, of our well-known American naturalists are able to write well? Dreiser's style is notoriously bad. Of James Farrell, another famous contemporary writer of the same school of naturalism, the critics complain that he cannot use the king's English effectively. And even of Sinclair Lewis it can hardly be claimed that he, even in his earlier and better books, achieved a mode of writing that is in itself a reason for reading his books. Most interesting of all, the master philosopher who has laid his fatal spell on so much of modern American life, John Dewey, the head and fount of naturalism, will never be read for the delight of reading. He too is famous for the pedestrian clumsiness of his style, with of course here and there oases in the deserts. I have never seen any adequate comment on the blight that naturalism tends to lay on its devotees.

THEODORE DREISER TO RUFUS M. JONES*

1015 N. King's Rd.,
Hollywood, Calif.,
April 23, 1943.

Rufus L. Jones
c/o Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pa.

My dear Jones:

It is a long time since we undertook to impress the Rockefellers and the Catholic Church, but I not only have thought of you often but do think frequently of your temperament and your social import.

I happen to be writing a novel that involves Friends or Quakers, and I want to ask you this question: What educational institutions in the Philadelphia, New Jersey & Eastern Pennsylvania area were either influenced or controlled by Friends between the years 1885 and 1900? The reason for the question is that I want to establish in my own mind, and possibly in the book, how liberal or illiberal (from the Sectarian point of view) were these schools, if any. I am concerned only with Friends' schools or schools that were influenced by them in one way or another, which were in existence in that period within one hundred miles of Philadelphia. Friends' schools or colleges farther away do not interest me so much, although, if you will, you might name a few.

How are you? I hope strong and active.

When I think of you and contrast you with the average so called Christian, I am inclined to use language that your temperament would not countenance. But I still and always will hold you in my very highest esteem.

Regards. And all my best wishes—

(Signed) THEODORE DREISER

D:r

* From the original typewritten letter in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS
of
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

As of Twelfth Month 1, 1945

Historical Preamble, 1924

Friends' Historical Association* was founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873, adopted its Constitution First Month 8, 1874, and was incorporated Ninth Month 25, 1875. Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1904, and was merged into the older Association in Twelfth Month, 1923. The following Constitution, based upon that of 1874, with certain modifications chiefly from the Constitution of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, is now agreed upon and adopted, Fourth Month 2, 1924.

Original Preamble, 1874

"Believing that the Society of Friends has been and is potential for good and that necessity exists to create a Repository for such Books, Manuscripts, or other material as may be secured, wherewith to Elucidate its History; and realizing the importance of social intercourse in enlarging our sympathies, and creating an incentive to action in Kindred pursuits, the undersigned, for the purposes above set forth, do form ourselves into a Society to be known by the name and title of 'Friends' Historical Association'."

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I
Name

The name of this Association shall be Friends Historical Association.

ARTICLE II
Objects

The objects of the Association shall be to collect, preserve, and publish manuscripts and other materials bearing upon the history of the Society of Friends, or Quakers; to encourage and promote among its members historical reading, research, and writing in

* The apostrophe was dropped from the name First Month 9, 1941.

this field; to hold meetings, make historical pilgrimages, preserve and mark places and objects of special significance in Quaker history; and to coöperate with other individuals and organizations along these lines.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Any person interested in the objects of the Association is eligible for membership and may be elected thereto by a majority vote at any meeting of the Directors, or with the approval of the Secretary and one other member of the Association.

Honorary or Corresponding Members may be elected to the Association. Honorary membership shall be reserved for those who have done notable research work in the field of history, preferably in the history of the Society of Friends. Honorary and Corresponding Members shall have all the privileges of membership except voting, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

ARTICLE IV

Directors and Officers

The fourteen Directors prescribed by the Charter shall be divided into three classes, two classes of five each and one class of four, to be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Association. Each class shall serve for three years, respectively, the term of service of one class only expiring each year.

In order to inaugurate the above plan, the Annual Meeting in 1945 shall elect one class of five for a one-year term, one class of five for a two-year term, and one class of four for a three-year term.

The Directors shall elect annually from their number a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall serve as the officers alike of the Association and of the Directors. The Directors may fill vacancies in their number.

In addition to the regular officers as above, the Directors are empowered, as they see fit, to elect Honorary Officers from the membership of the Association.

ARTICLE V

Funds

All life membership dues, legacies, bequests, amounts oversubscribed to special funds, and such funds or other amounts as may from time to time be so appropriated by the Directors, shall constitute a Permanent Fund, to be kept invested, and the income therefrom to be used for the general purposes of the Association.

The principal of the Permanent Fund may be appropriated for other purposes of a substantial and permanent character, if such appropriation is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of Directors, after one month's prior notice in writing stating the specific purposes proposed.

ARTICLE VI

Seal

The Seal of the Association shall be as impressed in the margin of this Constitution.

ARTICLE VII

Bylaws

The details of the management of the Association shall be provided for in the Bylaws.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Association, provided that a notice of the intended amendment shall be given in writing, through the Directors to the members, two months in advance.

BYLAWS

ARTICLE I

Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Second-day of the Eleventh Month, at such place and hour as the Directors may decide. Other meetings of the Association may be called by the Directors or the President upon due notice.

ARTICLE II

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes
2. Report of Treasurer
3. Report of Standing Committees
4. Report of Special Committees
5. Unfinished Business
6. New Business

ARTICLE III

Nominating Committee

At the first meeting of the Directors in each calendar year the President shall appoint a committee of five members to nominate Directors to the next annual meeting. Other nominations may be presented over the signatures of three members at any Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE IV

Annual Dues

The minimum annual dues shall be two dollars, and the payment of $50.00 by a member shall entitle such member to life membership. Membership shall cease upon written resignation, or upon due notice by the Secretary after the nonpayment of dues for three successive years.

ARTICLE V

Directors' Meetings

Stated meetings of the Directors shall be held on the second Sixth-day in the First, Fourth, and Tenth Months. Special meetings may be held at the call of the President, or upon the request of three Directors. Five Directors shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VI

Committees

The President shall appoint the committees of the Association, among which shall be the following standing committees:

1. Committee on Finance, to consist of three members, who with the Treasurer shall collect and control the income and disbursements of the Association, and shall have the custody of the Permanent Fund and securities comprising it.
2. Committee on Historical Research
3. Publication Committee
4. Membership Committee
5. Entertainment Committee
6. Sites and Relics Committee

ARTICLE VII

Curator

The Directors shall be empowered to appoint a Curator and an Assistant Curator, for the custody of the collections of the Association.

ARTICLE VIII

Editor

The Directors shall be empowered to appoint an Editor and an Assistant Editor for the BULLETIN of the Association.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

Amendments to these Bylaws may be adopted at any meeting of the Directors, by a majority vote of those present, due notice of the proposed amendment having been given at least one month previously.

SPRING MEETING, 1946
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

MOORESTOWN and the neighboring Meetings in New Jersey were hosts to Friends Historical Association for the annual Spring Meeting and historical pilgrimage, which took place on May 18, 1946. Friends gathered in the old east meetinghouse, built in 1802, and the meeting was opened at 3 p. m. by Vice-President Lydia Flagg Gummere, acting for President William W. Comfort. John W. Cadbury welcomed the Association on behalf of the Friends of Moorestown, and George DeCou, historian of Moorestown, Mount Holly, Rancocas, and, more recently, of Burlington, gave a short paper on the "Quaker Background of Moorestown," summarizing the story told so interestingly and in greater detail in his book of historical sketches of *Moorestown and Her Neighbors.*

By means of an automobile caravan, possible again with the return of peace, Friends visited four of the older meetinghouses nearby, Mount Laurel, Arney's Mount, Old Springfield (Copany), and Rancocas, before returning to enjoy a box supper at Moorestown.

FRIENDS in New England will be interested to know that the Rhode Island Historical Society recently purchased thirty-one back numbers of the BULLETIN, thus completing its file from the very first issue to the present. This is the only complete set in a Rhode Island library, although there are five such sets in other New England libraries, namely, at the American Antiquarian Society, Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, New Bedford Public Library, and the Yale University Library, with partial sets at the Zion Research Library in Brookline, and the Essex Institute in Salem. This purchase by the Rhode Island Historical Society insures that such a set may now be found in what was once the heart of New England Quakerism.

HARLOW LINDLEY, who retired on July 1, 1946, from his position as Secretary and Librarian of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, at the Ohio State Museum, Columbus, Ohio, has been appointed as Director of Historical Research of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, where he will continue his work in the history of the Old Northwest and American Quakerism. He will also serve as Library Consultant at Earlham, to which he returns after many years in Ohio.

LUCRETIA MOTT AND THE PHILADELPHIA ANTISLAVERY FAIRS

By N. Orwin Rush *

THE ANTISLAVERY FAIRS which took place in Philadelphia from 1835 to 1861 are, from the viewpoint of episodial historians, only a minor event in American history; but placed in their proper setting they become an interesting part of the age-long struggle between the free and oppressed. It is, therefore, with the hope of throwing further light on the antislavery movement that this study has been made.

This series of fairs held annually just before Christmas proved to be an excellent means of replenishing the continually exhausted treasury of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. When it was first proposed to inaugurate these occasions, there was considerable debate as to whether they should be held. This new innovation was doubly hard to put across because a majority of the membership was made up from members of the Society of Friends and by that Society, "Fairs were regarded with much suspicion, if not absolute disapprobation."[1] Especially was this true if monthly meetings occurred during fair week. If so, members were not excused for such "profane babbling."[2] However, after considerable debate it was felt that such occasions were perfectly legitimate and proper. It is noteworthy to mention that the decision was reached only after it was agreed to use the term *sale* rather than *fair*. The beginning of these fairs was very plain and simple with the announcement that the Female Anti-Slavery Society would hold an "Anti-Slavery Sale." Later announcements used the term *fair* as shown in the following advertisement appearing in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* for December 14, 1858:

The 23rd Philadelphia anti-slavery fair will open on Tuesday evening, 14th instant, in Sansom Hall and continue open the three following days. A great variety of beautiful and useful articles at market prices. Articles

* The author is Librarian of the Clark University Library.

[1] Anna Davis Hallowell, ed., *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters* (Boston, 1884), p. 127.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

of household use and apparel and others for Christmas gifts may here be purchased and a benevolent cause thus aided without any extra outlay of money. Admittance, 13 cents; season tickets, 25 cents.[3]

In 1859 the term Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Sale and National Bazaar was used. By this date the occasion had truly become national and even international by contributions. Valuable donations came annually from all over the Eastern United States, and boxes came from England, Germany and France. Outstanding performers from the eastern part of the United States appeared on the program and no doubt were excellent drawing cards. Such men as Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles C. Burleigh, H. H. Furness, and Joshua R. Giddings entertained the audience with eloquent speeches. Also, talented entertainers of the days such as Joshua Hutchinson gave appropriate musical entertainments, and William Wells Brown read descriptive antislavery dramas. All of the manual labor that went into the preparation for these early fairs was performed by volunteers.

In 1842 the Society of Friends still did not completely approve of its members participating in antislavery fairs. This year the regular donation from Boston and England came too late so Lucretia Mott, a Race Street Friends minister and one of the mainstays in the Female Anti-Slavery Society, offered her home as a place for their sale (also, it was she or members of her family who usually cleared the tables of unattractive articles left unsold at the close of the fair). This was just too much. Some of the Elders from the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting where she was a member felt it their duty to call upon her and remonstrate on so "light-minded a proceeding; and particularly on the vanity of her having allowed engravings of herself to be included in the sale."[4]

The problem of finding proper housing for the sales, which became more important as the years went by, was always a difficult one. This was especially true in later years when abolitionists from miles around flocked to them. They had a modest beginning and for several years were displayed in very small

[3] Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* December 14, 1859, p. 2.
[4] Hallowell, *Mott,* p. 243.

rooms, often procured with difficulty from owners unwilling to be identified with an odious cause. The opposition was so strong that one year no place could be found to have the fair so the antislavery office had to be used. In later years, however, in order to care for the great contributions and crowds, large and elegant rooms were rented in the Assembly Building at $50 a day. By 1847 they were so successful that the Society began holding fairs, on a smaller scale, in neighboring towns.

Lucretia Mott in a letter to Cyrus Peirce [5] dated Philadelphia, 3rd month, 13th, 1843, gives a good description as to the items included in these sales. The donations from England in this particular year were valued at $400.00—the amount listed on the accompanying invoice. For the most part they were useful articles of clothing, some beautiful drawings and paintings, and a considerable number of "fancy articles." [6] These fancy articles consisted of pressed flowers taken from Melrose Abbey and from the grave of Elizabeth Heyrick,[7] the author of *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition*. Also, among the lot were several rulers made from a tree under which George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, had preached. The overseer of these antislavery sales took special care not to charge an exorbitant price for the articles. At this particular sale both the Elizabeth Heyrick flowers and the George Fox rulers sold for 25 cents each. Although these items from England were valued at $400.00, they actually brought only $150.00. However, they were not all sold—the unsold articles being kept till the next annual fair.

Besides the money derived from the sales, it was felt by Lucretia Mott, quoting Nathaniel Barney, the Nantucket Quaker abolitionist, that

> Some who can employ a leisure, and perhaps otherwise an idle hour, are not interested to elaborate some beautiful needlework or otherwise, and in this way their latent feelings are awakened, and I have no doubt

[5] Cyrus Peirce was a Massachusetts clergyman, educator, and reformer (1790-1860). He was principal of the first State Normal School at Lexington, Mass., to which he went in 1839 from his post in the Nantucket High School. He married Harriet Coffin, a relative of Lucretia Mott.

[6] Hallowell, *Mott*, p. 244.

[7] Elizabeth Heyrick was an English Quaker. Her pioneering pamphlet of 1824 was reprinted several times in this country, once by the Female Anti-Slavery Society.

this may be a means of exciting inquiry, and finally begetting an abiding interest in the great work of human freedom.[8]

Also, Mrs. Mott felt that the effect on the young people of devoting part of their time to the fairs was salutary.

Again Lucretia Mott presents a vivid picture of such gatherings in a letter to her sister Martha C. Wright dated 12th month, 1848:

> If I did not iron 12 shirts, like Cousin Mary, I had forty other things which I accomplished; for we had a large wash, and hurried to get the ironing away before the people flocked in. Five came just before dinner. I prepared mince for forty pies, doing every part myself, even to meat chopping; picked over lots of apples, stewed a quantity, chopped some more, and made apple pudding; all of which kept me on my feet till almost two o'clock, having to come into the parlor every now and then to receive guests.[9]

Although many of the articles on sale at the fairs were sent from England and other places, most of them were prepared in Philadelphia. Beginning early in the fall and continuing up until time for the annual fair in December, fair meetings were held every week by the Philadelphia abolitionists for the preparation of articles to be sold. These weekly meetings lasted from early afternoon until late at night. Members and their guests usually spent the afternoon sewing until dark when informal picnic tea was served, made up by contributions brought by those present. In the evening the men folks were invited in and the affair became a social one. These fair meetings, like the annual fair, were part of the general scheme of the abolitionists to increase their ranks by bringing outsiders within the circle of antislavery influence.

Although the abolitionists all along had their troubles, it was not until the "great awakening" shock of John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry and the tragedy that followed that these annual fairs did not run smoothly. When it came time to hold the fair in 1859, a leading Philadelphia newspaper went so far as to ask its readers if they meant to permit it to be opened. In spite of this sudden increase of opposition and threats, the fair, opened in a more prominent hall than before, and was well

[8] Hallowell, *Mott*, p. 244.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

attended. The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* for December 15, 1859, said:

> The Anti-Slavery Convention, which is usually held in connection with the anti-slavery fair which is now in progress in this city, assembled on Wednesday morning at the Assembly Building, Tenth and Chestnut Streets. The hour fixed for opening the convention was 11 o'clock but owing to the inclemency of the weather, at that time there were very few persons present. About 12 o'clock upwards of 200 were in attendance, three-fourths of whom were females, principally of the Quaker denomination. . . . James Mott presided, and Benjamin Lloyd was appt. Sec. Addresses were made by J. Miller McKim, Lucretia Mott, Thos. Whitson, Thomas McClintock, Robert Purvis, Ruben Tomlinson and Mahlon B. Linton. . . . The addresses were brief and consisted principally of animadversions upon some of the city papers, which, as the speakers alleged, had taken the ground that they should not be permitted the privilege of "free speech" in meetings held to discuss the slavery question. . . .[10]

The fair seemed to be going along in quiet and successful progress when the next day an order was given by the mayor of the city for the Society to take down its flag. It was suspended across Chestnut Street which was in violation of a city ordinance. It was quite common in Philadelphia at that time for charitable and benevolent associations to string their flags across the streets without objection being made. Mary Grew was quoted by the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* for December 16, 1859, as saying:

> She supposed it was the cause in which they were engaged that frightened the people of Philadelphia and they could not stand it. The flag contained a representation of a large bell with the inscription "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." The officer informed her that they might hang out an American flag and no one would object.[11]

Following this action from the mayor came an order that the fair must be closed in the afternoon at 3 o'clock. A delegation called upon the mayor and ascertained from him that the hall had been leased under the terms which—

> gives to the trustees and their heirs the right to take possession of it under a sheriff's writ whenever it is let for a purpose calculated to create the public excitement.[12]

[10] *Public Ledger,* December 15, 1859, p. 1.
[11] *Ibid.,* December 16, 1859, p. 1.
[12] *Ibid.*

Under that lease, the trustees had placed the hall in the hands of the sheriff who had closed it.

There was a strong feeling among some of the members that it would be "better for the cause"[13] if they did not vacate the room nor remove any of the goods but let them be put out upon the street. However, the ladies who had charge of the fair transferred their goods to the Assembly Building where it was carried on with great success.

The mob which had been invoked by the newspapers oddly enough did not attack the fair but instead directed its violence against a meeting in National Hall where George William Curtis was speaking upon the "Present Aspects of the Country."[14]

The newspapers said very little against the antislavery fair the following year, nevertheless, indignant citizens had fiercely resolved that it should be suppressed. During its four days continuance it was threatened by violence on several occasions. However, the usual four days were completed without the slightest disturbance—the only incident being the tearing out of the word "slavery" from a large placard over the door, which was immediately replaced without further incident. Evidently trouble was expected since the police department kept five or six policemen stationed at the fair while it was in progress.

In the following year, 1861, was held the last of the antislavery fairs—a series of twenty-six fairs which played an important part in the lives of the abolitionists.

The president of the Society writing in her report for the year 1846 says:

> Our recent annual Fair has been attended with unexampled prosperity, its receipts far exceeding those of any former year, and the moral effect on the community has evidently been deeper and wider than has ever before been produced by the same cause. Among the crowds which thronged the Saloons of the Assembly Buildings on that occasion, were many persons who never before mingled in any gatherings of abolitionists, or listened to an exposition of our doctrines and measures. That some such received good impressions, not soon to be effaced, we cannot doubt. The whole result was such as to incite us to still more vigorous efforts in the ensuing year.[15]

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Hallowell, *Mott,* p. 393.

[15] Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. *Annual Report, 1846,* p. 10.

Many of the articles sold at these fairs were adorned with antislavery prints or appropriate mottos which it was felt had their effect upon the abolitionist cause. A fair usually lasted no longer than four days but in 1849 it ran for five days. The annual report for this year stated:

> The attending circumstances, public interest, social intercourse and reunions, high-toned meetings for addresses and discussions—make the sum total of good beyond estimate of calculation.[16]

And the year before the president had written in her report:

> The moral effect of our Fairs is, we believe, highly beneficial to the community. The high and ennobling character of the enterprise in whose service they are used, has a direct tendency to preserve them from those errors of management which have elicited just censure upon some other Fairs.[17]

The outbreak of hostilities in 1861 put an end to these fairs which had enabled the Anti-Slavery Society to carry on so successfully. They were always conducted with order and dignity. They were certainly an important phase of the antislavery movement both on account of their pecuniary proceeds, which amounted to more than $32,000 and for the moral influence which they had upon those who were engaged in them. Although they had much opposition to overcome, it is noteworthy that only at one fair were they disturbed by proslavery animosity. Even in those days when the lives and property of abolitionists were given up to the mercy of the mob, the antislavery fairs were never an object of popular violence. The emancipation of the slaves would not have failed without the antislavery fairs—but it is safe to say that the cause was greatly expedited by them.

THROUGH the efforts of Harlow Lindley, copies of a thesis on "A Contribution of the Society of Friends to Elementary Education with Special Reference to Southeastern Ohio," have been made available to several Friends' libraries, including those of Haverford, Swarthmore, and Earlham. The thesis was prepared by Susan Josephine Smith for her degree of Master of Education at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, in May, 1945. It is especially valuable for its original research and illustrative material on Quaker schools in the older Quaker settlements in Ohio.

[16] *Ibid., 1849,* p. 13.
[17] *Ibid., 1848,* p. 7.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Eleanor M. Asheroff, 145 James Street, Franklin Square, Long Island, New York. *The Tappans, New York Abolitionists.* (Biography of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, their philanthropies, philosophies and abolitionist work. Lewis Tappan was a correspondent of Joseph Sturge, and his host in America.) Columbia University; Social Studies, thesis for M.A. degree, 1944. Manuscript completed.

Bickley Burns Brodhead, 621 Rising Sun Avenue, Philadelphia 40, Pennsylvania. *The Influence of Methodism on Quakerism until 1900.* Union Theological Seminary; Church History, thesis for S.T.M. degree, 1946.

L. H. Butterfield, Jefferson Office, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey. *Letters of Dr. Benjamin Rush.* (A select edition of the letters, intended to show Rush as a literary figure of importance and in his other widely varied activities. Dr. Rush's connections with Friends were close and long-standing.) Collecting of letters nearly completed and editorial work begun. To be published in 1947.

Frank Edmundson, M.D., Squaw Run Road, R. D. 2, Pittsburgh 15, Pennsylvania. *William Edmundson, Quaker Evangelist.* (It is hoped to bring to light some new facts concerning the life and times of William Edmundson.) Research commenced.

John Van Gelder Forbes, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. (Definite title not yet decided upon, but the study will cover the relations of the American Friends Service Committee relief enterprises to the United States and European governments, 1917-1941.) Research commenced.

Gertrude Erna Gunther, 26 Waukena Avenue, Oceanside, New York. *An Inquiry into the Public Career of Thomas Mifflin, with Emphasis on the Governorship.* Columbia University; History, thesis for M.A. degree, 1944.

Herbert Paul Habel, 898 Bryant Avenue, Bronx 59, New York. *The Literary Reputation of John Greenleaf Whittier.* (The material for this study of Whittier's reputation, 1837-1937, was gathered from reviews in newspapers, books, and magazines.) Columbia University; English, thesis for M.A. degree, 1943.

James Welfred Holmes, Morgan State College, Baltimore 12, Maryland. *Whittier's Prose on Reforms other than Abolition.* University of Pittsburgh; English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1945. (An abstract of this dissertation was printed in the University of Pittsburgh *Bulletin,* volume 42, number 2, February 10, 1946.)

Horace Mather Lippincott, East Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *The Struggle for a Union among Philadelphia Friends.* (Material gathered from the monthly reports, minutes and extracts from Friends' publications of the last two years.) Manuscript completed.

Edward Augustus Manice, Medina, New York. *George Fox, Quakers, Negroes, and Slavery on Barbados, 1671-1675.* (A consideration of the attitude of George Fox and the Barbados Quakers toward Negroes and slavery.) Yale University; History, thesis for B.A. degree, 1945. Manuscript completed.

Clara P. Marcy, 86 Wendell Park, Milton, Massachusetts. *The Literary Criticism of John Greenleaf Whittier.* Boston University; English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1945. An abstract was published by the Boston University Graduate School, 1945.

Satya N. Mukerji, 1582 York Avenue, New York 28, New York. *The Quaker Influence on American Political and Social Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century.* Columbia University; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research commenced.

Enid Sara Pugh, c/o J. Wilbur Prentice, P. O. Box 92, Bombay, India. *The Vision of God and its Consequences for Richard Rolle and for Rufus Jones.* (Not a critical but rather an informative study along the line of two men from the history of mysticism and their personal reaction to the vision of God and His will.) Columbia University; Philosophy, thesis for M.A. degree, 1943.

William H. Russell, Department of English, History and Government, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. *Commercial Development in Philadelphia, 1740-1820.* (This study is based on documents covering the business activities of members of the Morris family and their associates.) Research commenced.

William H. Sessions, Water Meadows, Huntington Road, York, England. *The Lighter Side of Quakerism.* (Odd and humorous Quaker stories, including strange events and incidents connected with Quakers.) Manuscript partially completed.

Emerson W. Shideler, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. *The Doctrine of the Church as held by the Society of Friends.* (A historical and critical study of the position of the Society of Friends on this question, with the particular purpose of stating the essential character of the Church.) University of Chicago Divinity School; Historical Theology, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1947. Research commenced.

Deryck Siven, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. *Relations between Quakers and Indians.* (The non-violence of the Quakers in their relation to the red man.) Helsingfors University; thesis for D.C. degree. Work begun on a study of the background of the subject.

Helen P. South, 226 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York. *Johnson and the Quakers.* Research partially completed.

Elizabeth Aiko Takahashi (Mrs. Takeshi Nishikawa), 1259 S. Camden Drive, Los Angeles 35, California. *The Social Implications of George Fox's Religion and Ethics.* Pacific School of Religion; Social Policies, thesis for M.A. degree, 1936.

Crawford Beecher Thayer, 255 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut. *Whittier as a Philadelphia Editor, 1838-1840.* (Address delivered before the Haverhill, Massachusetts, Whittier Club, June 1, 1946.)

David Elton Trueblood, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. *Robert Barclay, Quaker Thinker.* (An interpretation of Barclay's idea for this generation.) Research completed and publication planned in 1948.

Paul L. Whitely, Department of Psychology, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. *History of Friends in Lancaster County.* (A paper to be read before the Lancaster County Historical Society.) Research commenced.

PENDLE HILL has published, in association with Harper and Brothers, a new pocket edition of an old devotional handbook, *A Guide to True Peace* (New York, 1946, 118 pp., $1.00), a compilation of excerpts from the writings of Fénelon, Madam Guyon, and Molinos which two English Friends, William Backhouse and James Janson, first published in 1813, and which was reprinted many times in the nineteenth century. In a new introduction Howard H. Brinton re-asserts the conviction of the mystics that peace within is prerequisite to peace without.

EMILY GREENE BALCH of New England: Citizen of the World is a pamphlet biography and a tribute to a convinced Friend, liberal, and peace worker, by Professor John Herman Randall, Jr., of Columbia University. It is published by The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, at fifty cents.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY to accompany her article on the Rogerenes (mentioned in the BULLETIN, 32 (1943), p. 35), has now been published by Ellen Starr Brinton. It appeared in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* September, 1945, and is available as a reprint from Ellen Brinton, Swarthmore Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. The title is *Books By and About the Rogerenes.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere, edited by E. H. W. Meyerstein, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1945. xix+123 pp. (with illustrations and a genealogy). $2.50.

TWO YEARS ago I reviewed in these pages Violet Holdsworth's *The Shoemaker of Dover.* To that work this volume makes an interesting companion piece and contrast. Both books are war-time productions, were compiled with great difficulties and were hard to obtain in America. The heroes of both were contemporaries and fellow townsmen of Dover and converts to Quakerism. But Luke Howard's life (1621-1699) was on land (as far as we know he never set out to sea from his harbor town), is pieced together rather than dependent on his own continuous narrative, and is little known before he became a Friend. Edward Coxere (1639-1694) left a manuscript in which he rehearses in a vivid, droll and detailed fashion his experiences at sea from the age of fourteen to over fifty, but only four-fifths of the way through the narrative does he come to his conversion to Quakerism.

This manuscript, now first published, belongs in style and character much more to the contemporary accounts of sea voyages than to Quaker journals. Like the former it has some attractive drawings of ships made by the author himself, five of which are reproduced in this edition. I understand that an American edition is projected with perhaps more illustrations. The editor has modestly confined himself to an informative introduction and longer and shorter notes. To recast the text into readable English from the irregular even if phonetic spelling of Coxere (probably his name also was pronounced more like Coxery) was a difficult labor.

The vicissitudes of serving under many masters, among crews of many nationalities and in many seas were appreciated by the author and related by him with much homely zest which his subsequent conversion did not much dampen. He gives a vivid account of his imprisonment by the Turks. This ended in March, 1658. His conversion to Quakerism occurred during a visit to Dover of Edward Burrough, and in connection with a debate held by Burrough and Samuel Fisher with William Russell. The editor (p. ix) dates this "after the Restoration" but I believe it occurred rather in 1659 since two controversial books of that date by Luke Howard and one by Thomas Danson deal with some details of the debate. From then on various Quaker connections can be traced. A gradual and sound conviction against fighting is described. In Portugal another Quaker scruple troubled him because the Portuguese were very sensitive to those who refused "hat honor," etc. (p. 92). The same difficulty is mentioned in a letter of Edward Montagu to John Thurloe written in 1656 from Lisbon harbor about some Quakers (*Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe,* vol. V, p. 422). He shipped on George Pattison's Quaker ketch which had become famous through Thomas Lurting's exploit of dis-

arming the Turks who captured it and returning them unhurt to their own land. Coxere first supplies us with the name of the boat, *Partners,* and even gives a drawing of it (facing p. 109). He was imprisoned with William Caton and other Friends at Yarmouth in 1663-1664. Here we can refer not merely to Joseph Besse's account where I believe the petition should be dated second rather than seventh month 1664, but to William Caton's (largely quoted in W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam,* pp. 164 ff.). Besse mentions some later sufferings, unfortunately indexed under Caxere, and Luke Howard's life shows that the two men were imprisoned together in Dover in 1684. Coxere's death in 1695 at Scarborough is recorded in the Quaker registers from which and other sources Mr. Meyerstein has assiduously culled biographical notes and explanations of various historical and philological matters. Altogether this is a very interesting human document admirably edited. An almost unknown seventeenth century Friend now is well known by a self-revealing bit of autobiography. Since many other Friends either like Coxere continued to follow the sea or occasionally travelled it his account supplies background for the wider Quaker history.

Henry J. Cadbury

Harvard University

Burlington: A Provincial Capital. Historical Sketches of Burlington, New Jersey, and Neighborhood, by George DeCou. Philadelphia, Harris and Partridge, Incorporated, 1945. 246 pp. $3.25.

THE United States is rich in its local histories. From them spring many of the historical sources of more than local importance, where the everyday citizen crosses the paths of individuals or events on the national scale.

Such a locality is Burlington County, New Jersey, and George DeCou, President of its County Historical Society, has done much to embellish the history of that section. His earlier books on Moorestown, Mount Holly and Rancocas have now been followed by a fourth authoritative little tome on Burlington. All of these studies have added flavor and personal piquancy to this county of early settlement and strong individuality in religion and education.

As it was with the three former books, so it is with *Burlington*—the origin came largely from Quaker settlers, seeking, earlier in date than Penn's "Holy Experiment," freedom from English legislative and administrative restrictions.

The fifteen chapters deal largely with the pioneer days. An excellent index makes the whole work an intelligent unit. No attempt is made to bring the account beyond the time of the American Revolution, but the start is the important element, the impelling reasons that motivated men and women of those early days when Burlington was founded in 1677,

to leave English and Welsh homes of more than ordinary comfort and refinement and to cast their permanent lot upon the Delaware, where Burlington arose from a crude and abandoned tavern site into a stirring Provincial Capital.

George DeCou tells the story well, sufficient in detail and yet with a restraint that keeps his book from the prolixity that such books sometimes attain. A real test of such a book is that it "goes well." That test was met practically at once. If the review of a book is meant to stimulate its sale, this review need not have been penned, for its "first edition" was exhausted practically at the start.

The illustrations amply supplement the text with many half-page photographic cuts of pleasing variety and appropriateness. The author at the end tops off his account with thirty-four biographical sketches of pioneer families of the early Burlington neighborhood. By following this method of his forerunners in New Jersey history, Samuel Smith and Thomas Shourds, he not only justifies the practice, but introduces into the narrative the family names in several successive generations through whom the city and the state waxed strong in those essentials of the life which there abounds today.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR

Cheltenham, Pennsylvania

Pionnier de la Paix qui Vient, William Penn (1644-1718), by E. J. Pratt. Geneva, Switzerland, Éditions Gérard de Buren, 1945. 86 pp.

IT IS appropriate that this booklet on William Penn as pioneer in international peace should come from Geneva. Written in French this treatise views the historic development of the search for peace and puts Penn's contribution in its proper place. In line with Penn's thought as much of our present procedure may be, the supreme authority of the Security Council with its limited membership is opposed to Penn's proposal, as it is to the judgment of many modern critics.

WILLIAM W. COMFORT

Haverford, Pennsylvania

A RECENT volume in the "Pennsylvania Lives" series published by the University of Pennsylvania Press is Edward Ford's *David Rittenhouse: Astronomer-Patriot, 1732-1796.* Although his mother and his two successive wives were Quakers, Rittenhouse himself had no formal connection with the Society of Friends. The principal Quaker influence in his life, although not stressed as such by Ford, was that of his uncle David Williams, a joiner, who, upon his death, left young Rittenhouse a set of tools and a copy of Newton's *Principia Mathematica,* which set him upon his notable career as an instrument-maker, astronomer, and mathematician.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College

THE QUAKER made his first appearance on the French stage in Chamfort's *La Jeune Indienne,* published and produced in Paris in 1764 and republished by the Princeton University Press in 1945. The Quaker in this play, Mowbrai, is indeed in the tradition described by Edith Philips in *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (Philadelphia, 1932). Mowbrai is a simple man who scorns the useless refinements of civilization but is at the same time a prosperous merchant. He serves as *deus ex machina* in the play to enable a young man to marry an Indian girl who has saved his life. The plot is an old one based on the story of Inkle and poor Yarico, told in Richard Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (London, 1657) and retold frequently thereafter. Chamfort's brilliant idea was to give the tale a happy ending by introducing the Quaker. This new and popular element made the play a success. It was produced many times in the eighteenth century, not only in Paris but in Germany, Holland, Russia, Spain, England, and in Charleston, South Carolina.

LAURENCE W. WYLIE

Haverford College

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

BY FREDERICK B. TOLLES AND DOROTHY G. HARRIS

Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College

The American Friend

"From Separation to Union among New England Friends," by Henry J. Cadbury, sketches the history of Friends in New England with special reference to the groups which came together in 1945 (exactly a century after the major separation) to form a united New England Yearly Meeting.—September 13, 1945, pp. 85-88.

California Friend

"Brief Historical Sketch of First Friends in Pasadena" is an account of the meeting in Pasadena, California (Five Years Meeting), from its beginning in 1882.—December, 1945, pp. 4-5.

The Friend of Australia and New Zealand

Lister G. Hopkins, in an article entitled "Friends in Jamaica," not only describes the present Friends' work in Jamaica, but also includes interesting historical material on Quakerism there.—February 20, 1946, pp. 12-13.

The Friend (London)

The issue for October 12, 1945, contains the following articles commemorating the death of Elizabeth Fry, October 13, 1845:

"Called to be God-bearers," by L. V. Holdsworth, retells the story of the conversion of Elizabeth Fry, in an article that interprets the meaning of conversion for present-day Friends.—pp. 677-678.

The Watchman in "Commentary" reviews the experiences in the life of Elizabeth Fry that led her to consecrate her life to Christian service.—pp. 678-679.

Janet Whitney in "A Centenary Reconsideration" evaluates the educational methods of prison reform which Elizabeth Fry instituted.—pp. 681-683.

"When Women Friends Held their Own Y. M." gives a graphic picture of London Yearly Meeting of Women Friends in 1859. The entertaining diary of Jane Eliza Neave who attended this meeting for the first time at nineteen years of age provides material for the article.—May 24, 1946, pp. 409-410.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"Job Scott—A Study in 'Stops'," by Edith Stratton Platt, is an effort to get light from an eighteenth-century Friend on "the type of concern which lies behind a meeting held 'in the life,' and a ministry which issues clearly from the Source."—September 13, 1945, pp. 85-88.

"How Friends of over a Century Ago Addressed the Pennsylvania Legislature in Behalf of Conscientious Objectors," by William W. Cadbury, relates the story of a visit to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1808 by a group of concerned Philadelphia Friends.—November 8, 1945, pp. 150-151.

"Whittier on the Dignity of Man," by Luella M. Wright, "reveals the poet's high estimate of the dignity of man and his fearless defense of the inalienable rights of men in the social order of America."—December 20, 1945, pp. 201-203.

"The Retreat," by T. Edmund Harvey, discusses the important pioneering work of William Tuke in the humane care of the mentally ill.—June 20, 1946, pp. 405-406.

"Moses Brown and World Government," by Robert M. Hazelton, quotes a number of hitherto unpublished letters of Moses Brown disclosing his part in the organization of the Peace Society movement after the War of 1812.—August 29, 1946, pp. 72-75.

Friends Intelligencer

"Why Revise the Queries?" by Howard H. Brinton, reviews the history of the Queries with special attention to the need for periodic revision.—September 22, 1945, pp. 606-607.

"Elizabeth Fry and Prison Reform," by Louis N. Robinson, is a sympathetic appraisal of Elizabeth Fry's work by a Friend who is also a distinguished penologist.—October 6, 1945, pp. 637-639.

"Early Friends in Scotland," by Katie Ratcliffe, reprinted from *The Wayfarer* (London), recounts the visits of some early Friends to the Scots who, in George Fox's words, "being a dark carnal people gave little heed" to the Quaker message.—October 6, 1945, pp. 640-641.

"World Government and Friends of the Past," by Robert M. Hazelton, cites the opinions of Moses Brown, Anthony Benezet, and Elias Hicks on military conscription and Friends' obligations to civil government in peace and war.—December 8, 1945, pp. 785-787.

"A Forgotten Quaker Poet," by Frederick B. Tolles, revives the memory of John Scott of Amwell, a minor English poet of the eighteenth century, notable chiefly for his interest in nature and his social concern.—January 12, 1946, pp. 21-22.

"The Jane Addams Peace Collection," by Frederick B. Tolles, summarizes the history, the resources, and the prospects of this unique collection of historic peace material, both Quaker and non-Quaker, housed in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.—January 19, 1946, p. 41; February 2, 1946, pp. 73-74; March 2, 1946, p. 136.

"Friends Hospital," by William W. Cadbury, recounts the history of this first American mental hospital to be operated on the humane principles of William Tuke.—February 2, 1946, pp. 68-70.

"Daniel Defoe and the Quakers," by Juliet Reeve, discusses Defoe's Quaker contacts, his writings in defense of Friends, and the Quaker characters in his novels.—May 4, 1946, pp. 282-284.

"New Hicks Letters at Swarthmore," by Frederick B. Tolles, announces the recent acquisition by the Friends Historical Library of seven additional MS. letters of Elias Hicks.—August 10, 1946, p. 480.

"Quaker Profiles at Swarthmore," by Frederick B. Tolles, describes a volume of silhouette drawings once owned by Thomas Gilpin and now at the Friends Historical Library; the volume contains profiles of fourteen Friends active *circa* 1790, of which those of Nicholas Waln, John Pemberton, and Rebecca Jones are reproduced in the article.—September 28, 1946, pp. 561-562.

Friends Quarterly Examiner

A character study of "Rendel Harris, the Interpreter, 1852-1941" appears in the section entitled "From the House of the Four Winds."—Fourth Month, 1941, pp. 81-91.

Alexander Jaffray of Aberdeen became convinced of Quakerism in 1662. "A Scottish Quaker of the Seventeenth Century," written by Fenton Wyness, gives a brief account of his life and of the beginnings of Quakerism in Scotland.—Fourth Month, 1941, pp. 135-140.

M. Whitcomb Hess, of Athens, Ohio, the author of *The Name Is Living*, writes on "The Message of Isaac Penington, English Mystic."—Seventh Month, 1941, pp. 221-230.

An account of life at Ackworth School one hundred and twenty years ago, as extracted by Harold C. Hunt of Canterbury from the autobiography of his grandfather, William Lockwood, appears in four issues.—Seventh Month, 1942, pp. 176-185; Tenth Month, 1942, pp. 247-250; Seventh Month, 1943, pp. 159-165, and Tenth Month, 1943, pp. 234-237.

Caroline Pumphrey, an English Friend, was reared by relatives in the little Cotswold town of Charlbury. From a record of her life, Catharine Albright has drawn a picture of Quaker life and customs there one hundred years ago.—Tenth Month, 1942, pp. 271-283.

Samuel Graveson, in "The Art of Benjamin West, P. R. A.," discusses fluctuations in taste, especially as they have affected the popularity of the paintings of Benjamin West.—First Month, 1944, pp. 7-9.

The caretakers of Jordans, Herbert and Annie Elizabeth Pickles, recall the history and spirit of the fine old "lattice-windowed" meeting house in an article entitled "Jordans: Then and Now." This account appears among a series of articles celebrating the Tercentenary of William Penn's birth.—Seventh Month, 1944, pp. 151-156.

"The Ministry of Women in the Society of Friends," by Margaret B. Hobling, deals with the complete spiritual equality between men and women in early Quakerism and its effect upon the life and work of the Society.—Seventh Month, 1944, pp. 184-190.

The series of articles on "William Penn's Tercentenary" are continued in the October issue and include estimates of Penn by T. Edmund Harvey and Herbert G. Wood, and also an account of the Tercentenary celebration in America by William Wistar Comfort.—Tenth Month, 1944, pp. 219-241.

Maude Robinson, an attender of Brighton Meeting in England for eighty-two years, tells of the personalities and customs of that early Quaker community, in an article entitled "A Friends' Meeting Eighty Years Ago."—First Month, 1946, pp. 37-42.

T. Edmund Harvey describes the important relationship of the curate at Fenny Drayton to George Fox and his spiritual development, in "The Young George Fox and Nathaniel Stephens."—Fourth Month, 1946, pp. 69-78.

Interesting sidelights on London Yearly Meeting sessions of fifty to seventy years ago, are gathered together by four Friends, in four articles on "Yearly Meetings."—Fourth Month, 1946, pp. 79-90.

Biographical accounts of William, Henry and Samuel Tuke, and their work in establishing and maintaining the Retreat at York, appear in "The Tukes: Tea Dealers and Reformers" by Ernest E. Taylor.—Fourth Month, 1946, pp. 91-95.

"The Retreat," by Marjorie Garrod and Gwendoline D. Knight, describes the past and present work with the mentally afflicted, at the York Retreat.—Fourth Month, 1946, pp. 96-103.

"The Dating of George Fox's Journey from Launceston to London in the Autumn of 1656," by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, makes clear the sequence of events in the life of Fox from September 9 to October 14 of that year.—Fourth Month, 1946, pp. 117-121.

In "What Two Saintly Quakers did for Edmund Burke," Rufus M. Jones discusses the influence of Abraham Shackleton and his son Richard, on the character and political theories of that eloquent statesman.—Seventh Month, 1946, pp. 134-140.

The Canadian Friend

In "Friends' Relief Service in Britain" the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee, England, gives an account of the origin of its work in the second world war and the extent of its relief activities. The committee has organized service in shelters, run rest centers for the homeless and aged, converted meeting houses into communal centers, combatted apathy, and encouraged people "to find renewed happiness in common service for one another."—June, 1941, pp. 7-9.

In "First Laws of a Quaker State" attention is called to the fact that the Archives Division of the State Library of Pennsylvania has announced new information about the original version of the first laws of Pennsylvania. These were the laws formulated in 1682 at Chester by Penn and the General Assembly.—July, 1941, pp. 4-5.

The "Centenary Re-union of Pickering College," by Ada Lehman, describes an historical celebration of the founding of the Friends Boarding School at West Lake.—June, 1942, p. 11.

George W. Whitman gives an account of the celebration of the "100th Birthday of *The Friend*" (London).—April, 1943, pp. 12-13.

"The Challenge of Quaker History" is the title of the Gardner Memorial Lecture given by Thomas E. Jones at Canada Yearly Meeting in 1943. He traces the Quaker message through two hundred and fifty years of Quaker history and searches for methods of relating it to our times.—September, 1943, pp. 5-9.

In a short article entitled "Local Quaker History to Be Preserved," the plan of the University of Toronto to set up a special department of Quakeriana is announced, in connection with the gift to the University of Quaker books from the library of Canada Yearly Meeting.—January, 1944, p. 4.

In "The Friends' Settlement of South Yarmouth" Edward Willson tells of the celebration by Pelham Half Yearly Meeting of the hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishing of the Meeting at Yarmouth.—June, 1944, p. 9.

Frederick J. Tritton, in "The Work of Friends' World Committee," gives a brief survey of the history of the Committee.—April, 1945, pp. 5-7.

The order and the history of the validity in law of Quaker marriages is discussed by Arthur G. Dorland in "Marriage in the Society of Friends."—June, 1945, pp. 13-15.

DOROTHY G. HARRIS, of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, has written a "History of Radnor Meeting," which includes quotations from the early minutes and a bibliography. The paper, which was read at a session of the First-day Forum at Radnor Meeting on Fifth Month 23, 1943, in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the building of the first meeting house, has been mimeographed and is available from Radnor United Monthly Meeting, Ithan, Pennsylvania.

HIGH POINT Monthly Meeting, High Point, North Carolina, has published a *Directory 1945,* containing a historical sketch of the Meeting as well as a list of members.

IN CONNECTION with the bicentenary of the birth of William Curtis (1746-1799), the English Quaker botanist, there are two short sketches of his life and work in *Nature* (London) for Saturday, January 5, 1946.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

IN *Church History*, vol. 14 (1945), pp. 33-60, is an article intending to compare the past with the recent present, entitled "Churches under Enemy Occupation, Philadelphia, 1777-8," by Nelson W. Rightmyer. The Quakers (pp. 52-58) share with the Episcopalians the honor of receiving the most attention from the author (as from the occupying authorities), but none of their own records primary or secondary appear to have been used.

NOTES AND QUERIES, vol. 187 (1944), pp. 169 and 239, quotes some semi-humorous lines about "Quips the Quaker," from a musical ballad not otherwise identified, thought to be from about 1883. It was evidently rich in rhyme-words for Quaker.

THE early history of a Quaker settlement is told by H. W. Nerhood, in the *Pacific Historical Review*, 14 (1945), pp. 36-44, under the title "Whittier, California: the Life of a Boom Town of the 'Eighties as Reflected in the First Newspaper." The *Graphic* is the paper referred to.

THE Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 7 (1944), pp. 20-33, contains a careful study by Charles Mitchell on "Benjamin West's 'Death of Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece." It shows how the Quaker artist caught the attitude of Englishmen towards contemporary history and partly through the wide circulation in an engraved reproduction of this piece, painted in 1771, caused a revolution in history painting.

HAROLD S. JANTZ, "The First Century of New England Verse," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 53 (1944), pp. 219-508, is an extraordinarily full catalogue of poetical pieces. Since many of them are by or upon well-known opponents of Quakerism, that topic doubtless would recur occasionally if the text were printed in full. Two Quaker authors are included in the bibliography,—George Joy (p. 441) and Edward Wharton (p. 490) and some anonymous lines on the exile of Nicholas Upsall to Rhode Island, 1657 (p. 504).

READERS to whom the background of the rise of Quakerism is of perennial interest will enjoy Wilhelm Schenk's article on "The Religion of the Spirit in Seventeenth-Century England" in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 140 (1945), pp. 12-28. He shows how spirit was used in some quarters to imply the harmony of faith and reason, in others their utter discrepancy. The Seekers and the Quakers believed in Christian prophecy and the direct call of the "Indwelling Christ." The Friends' revolutionary demand for social justice is also emphasized.

BEGINNING in the issue for July, 1943, and ending in January, 1945, the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vols. 97-99, has published in instalments a genealogy by Louise A. Christian of "Nathaniel Fitz Randolph, of Woodbridge, N. J., Quaker, and his Descendants." The Friendly connection was not very deep or lasting in this family.

FLANNER HOUSE, the interracial settlement house of the American Friends Service Committee at Indianapolis, is the subject of an enthusiastic illustrated article in *Survey Graphic*, vol. 34 (1945), pp. 339-41, 350-1, by R. W. Riis and Webb Waldron. It appeared condensed in *Reader's Digest*, vol. 47, pp. 66-69 (September, 1945).

FRANCIS B. CULVER'S article on "Ball of Bayside, Talbot County, Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 40 (1945), pp. 154-164, supplies data on another early Quaker family of Third Haven Meeting. Compare the articles in the same *Magazine* by Emerson B. Roberts mentioned in this BULLETIN, vol. 32 (1943), p. 32; vol. 34 (1944), p. 40.

"THE RELIGIOUS Significance of Eddington," an article by Reginald A. Smith, was published in *The Modern Churchman*, 34 (1945), 332-339. It calls attention to the lack of sympathy felt for Eddington's religion by most of his co-workers in experimental science, as distinct from philosophers, and it finds significance in his strong awareness of analogy.

FIRST-HAND knowledge and keen appreciation of his character are to be found in the sketch of "Sir Arthur Eddington, O. M.," by A. Vibert Douglas in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 14 (1945), 233-239.

THE CYCLE of poems by Kenneth Boulding mentioned in this BULLETIN, 33 (1944), 47 and 95, have at last been published in the kind of form they deserve, an attractive cloth-bound book, under the title, *There is a Spirit: The Nayler Sonnets* (New York, Fellowship Publications, 1945, 26 pp.).

WALTER C. WOODWARD, Editor and Friend, by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert (Richmond, Indiana, 1945), gives in thirty-five pages with amazing completeness the portrait of one of the most winsome Quaker statesmen of our time. Historian, teacher, editor, and traveller, Walter Woodward (1878-1942) combined with a rich variety of private and human interests a deep concern and a long continued service to the best in American Quakerism. As Alexander said of Hector, he is fortunate in having found such a biographer.

JOHN COX, JR., the veteran Quaker architect turned archivist, has contributed to *Michigan History, 29* (1945), 512-522, a comprehensive paper on "The Quakers in Michigan." He traces the origin and decline of the several meetings in this area, a very complicated story. In the case of the settlers who came from Farmington or Rochester, New York, he can list some of the earliest from the minutes of the meetings from which they came. There is some reference to schools established and to notable members, including Laura S. Haviland (1800-1898), leader of the antislavery movement (with a plate showing her monument).

AN ARTICLE by Boyd Guest on "John Neal and 'Women's Rights and Women's Wrongs'" in the *New England Quarterly,* 18 (1945), 508-515, begins, "John Neal was, with Thomas Paine, Charles Brockden Brown and Whittier, a member of a quartet of reforming Quakers." Then follows a description of Neal's high appreciation of women's superiority to men in certain directions and of his tempered suggestions for legal and economic equality. That this is due to Neal's Quaker inheritance is nowhere suggested.

EDWARD M. BROCKBANK is the author of a condensed and informative booklet marking the centenary of the death of a Quaker scientist. The full title is *John Dalton: Some Unpublished Letters of Personal and Scientific Interest with Additional Information about his Colour-Vision & Atomic Theories* (Manchester University Press, 1944, 62 pp.). There is a section on his interest in female society—he never married—and another on his connection with the Society of Friends. Many of the letters were to relatives who were Friends.

KANSAS AND "The Prairied West" of John G. Whittier, by Cora Dolbee, is the publication of a manuscript described in this BULLETIN, 33 (1944), 90. It was printed with illustrations and notes in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* 81 (1945), 307-347, and 82 (1946), 49-73, 155-173. There is also a separate reprint of eighty-five pages.

AMONG QUAKER business concerns in America one of the most unique is Back Log Camp, Inc., on Indian Lake, Sabael, New York, founded by Thomas K. Brown and managed for half a century by him and his family "to the third and fourth generation." *Back Log Camp 1896-1946* is a twelve-page pamphlet with illustrations of the camp and especially of the owner-management family.

IN THE last chapter of her *France and Rhode Island, 1686-1800* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1945, 185 pp.), Mary Ellen Loughrey includes the opinions of French visitors to Rhode Island. These indicate

the strong impression made by the Quakers, especially by the Quaker women, and among them by Polly Lawton. She quotes in this connection Robertnier, Baron Cromot Dubourg, Count de Segur, and Prince de Broglié. All this suggests that Rhode Island played a part second only to Pennsylvania in creating what Edith Philips calls in the title of her book, "The Good Quaker in French Legend." In spite of an extensive bibliography Miss Loughrey seems to have overlooked the intimate correspondence between the Newport Quakeress Polly Robinson and a French officer who had been quartered in her home, the Vicomte de Noailles, published by Anna Wharton Wood in the *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society,* No. 42 (1922), 1-35.

IN THE volume *Approaches to World Peace,* Fourth Symposium published by the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion (Harper and Brothers, 1943), Clarence E. Pickett contributes Chapter LVII, pp. 870-884, on "Experiences in Reconciliation," based on the work of the American Friends Service Committee.

A GENEALOGICAL monograph of unusual attractiveness of text and care of contents is *The Elkinton Family in England and America, Being the Ancestry and Descendants of George Elkinton of Burlington County, New Jersey,* by Arthur Adams (Hartford, Conn., privately printed, 1945, 48 pp.). George Elkinton (1650-1713) was the member of the line who became a Friend and emigrant. He came from Mollington, Oxfordshire, to West Jersey on the ship *Kent,* in 1677. "To the Religious Society of Friends beloved of George Elkinton and of many of his descendants this record is dedicated."

RHODE ISLAND HISTORY contains frequent minor references to Moses Brown or his associates, but in Volume 4 (1945), pp. 67-79, 121-128, is an extended account of one of his brothers by J. Walter Wilson, entitled "Joseph Brown, Scientist and Architect." Robert Hazelton contributed (pp. 80-83) an account by Moses Brown of a severe fire in Providence, in 1801, and two reports on a new spraying machine which he was asked to examine with a view to the city's use.

THE STORY of New Jersey edited by William Starr Myers (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1945, 5 vols.) is an ambitious publishing project. The first volume done by the editor himself is a general history along familiar lines. Two volumes by various authors deal with economic interests and with institutions. Quakers inevitably receive some mention here, especially for the earliest period, in contrast to the last two volumes which contain short sketches of a thousand and more living residents of the State who were willing to pay the price of admission (I believe $100, if with a portrait). Thus human vanity contributes to historiography by financing the whole 3000 pages.

"THE Dunkirk Colony in 1797" is the subject of a brief article by Henry J. Cadbury in the *Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association* (Fiftieth and Fifty-first Annual Meetings, 1944-1945, pp. 44-47). This Quaker community founded in France about 1785 by Nantucket whalers was visited in 1797 by three American Friends, William Savery, David Sands and Benjamin Johnson. All three left journals but that of Johnson, the fullest, has been hitherto unpublished and is here quoted for its detailed information about the Friends at the now famous French village.

THE Inquirer and Mirror, Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, for September 22, 1945, published with some comments the detailed journal of the visit made by John Townsend in 1786 to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and to the Island of St. Johns. In this journey, lasting seven weeks and two days, he was accompanied by two Friends of Nantucket and visited many Friends belonging formerly on that island and some others from England. He encouraged them to hold a meeting at Dartmouth, which thus became established. The original journal is said to belong to R. M. Lederer of New York City.

WAYLAND F. DUNAWAY writes on "Early Welsh Settlers of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History,* 12 (1945), 251-269. Most of the settlers were Friends, but not all. This article though based on secondary sources is a full and informative account.

H. S. NEDRY edits in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* 46 (1945), 235-254, the relevant part of the journal of Sarah Lindsey who with her husband, Robert Lindsey of England, visited America from Nova Scotia to Oregon under the title of "Williamette Valley in 1859: The Diary of a Tour." The text is taken from a copy at Haverford College of the original journal "preserved in Devonshire House Library, London" *(sic).*

SHELDON CHENEY'S *Men Who Have Walked with God* (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1945) contains a fine chapter on Jacob Boehme (pp. 238-284). Even his influence on and through the Quakers is recognized.

BY ONE of those not uncommon coincidences two biographies of the same person have appeared in the same year. The first is the volume by Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk,* reviewed in this BULLETIN, 35 (1946), 39-40, and the other is *Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania Peacemaker,* by Arthur D. Graeff (1943 Yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Society, *Publications,* vol. VIII; printed in 1945 at Allentown, Pennsylvania). Both show a good deal of research, especially the former as evidenced by its footnote references to manuscript sources. Graeff's volume is more popular and has not even an index. Conrad Weiser, though his only earlier biography was written by a Friend, Joseph Walton, was himself no Quaker, but his life coincides with the period of Quaker control of Pennsylvania, and as interpreter to

the Indians he was in close touch with the problems which so concerned Friends in that colony in the middle of the eighteenth century. He mingled freely not only with the Lutherans and Moravians but with the Indians and Friends. These books are a distinct contribution to the increasing literature on the background of the Holy Experiment.

SAMUEL COOPER has compiled from the *Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler* some selections under the title *Daniel Wheeler's Voyage of Life: Christian Ambassador to Russia and to the Islands of the South Seas* (Mount Holly, New Jersey, 1945, 48 pp.). The material is arranged particularly to illustrate his occupation, preservation, visitation, ministry, faith and love, assurance, consolation, and testimonies to various Christian principles. This pamphlet belongs with various famous writings in the fact that it was compiled in prison.

"THE INNER LIGHT" given by Brand Blanshard as the Dudleian Lecture at the Harvard Divinity School on April 10, 1945, is published in the *Annual* of that school for 1945-1946, *Official Register of Harvard University,* 43 (1946), 43-64. About half of it corresponds to the author's essay on the same subject in *Byways in Quaker History,* the Pendle Hill volume in honor of William I. Hull, but it has been rewritten and expanded to include a critique of that interpretation of the Quaker doctrine which excludes reason and thereby resembles the obscurantism of Barthianism.

MARY WHITCOMB HESS, the persistent admirer of Isaac Penington, has brought him before Roman Catholic readers in two recent articles: "William Penn and Isaac Penington" in *Commonweal,* 40 (1944), 153-155, and "Kierkegaard and Isaac Penington" in *The Catholic World,* 162 (1946), 434-437.

GREAT PRISONERS: The First Anthology of Literature Written in Prison, selected and edited by Isidore Abramowitz (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1946, 879 pp., $4.95), includes two Friends among the sixty-five prisoners. There are three selections from George Fox (pp. 255-270), two of them from the *Short Journal;* and from William Penn is given the account of the trial with William Mead from *The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted* (pp. 271-288). Preceded by Bunyan and followed by Defoe and Anne Hutchinson, Fox and Penn are here, as they often were in prison itself, in strange company. There are of course men of Quaker connection like Thomas Paine, John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison (but not John Lilburne), and men of Quaker tendency like Gandhi and Eugene Debs. But their bedfellows, or fellow prisoners, also include James I of Scotland, Charles I of England, Christopher Columbus, Napoleon, Oscar Wilde, Hitler, and Sacco and Vanzetti. Before the quotations a brief account of each person is printed.

A LETTER from Philadelphia by the French Quaker doctor, Jean de Marsillac, printed in a German periodical published in Sweden in 1797, is now republished in English in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 70 (1946), 112-116. The letter, as is rightly said, does not seem particularly "Quakerish." The writer's sincerity as a Friend was not lasting, but his account of culture and society in Philadelphia a century and a half ago is interesting.

FRIENDS IN EUROPE: Handbook of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Europe (Friends World Committee for Consultation, London and Philadelphia, 1946, 154 pp.) has more than a contemporary interest because for each of the thirty countries is given not only an account of the present Quaker connection with addresses of offices or persons to contact but also a brief historical summary of Quaker contacts and a bibliography, including the Quaker items published in the local language. Part III has some Quaker quotations in English, French and German, and a glossary of Quaker terms in all three languages. A very useful booklet, priced at 3s. 6d., or 75 cents.

OF THE Nature of the Church according to the Witness of the Society of Friends (London, 1945, 28 pp., 9d.) is a careful statement, largely historical in character, "prepared by the Committee on Christian Relationships appointed by the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain for presentation to the Commission on the Church set up by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order," and since approved by the Meeting for Sufferings in London. Other denominational responses to the same questionnaire are to be published, though the Methodist reply is the only other one yet available. In accordance with the six questions addressed to the churches it deals with "the origins of the Society, the characteristics of its fellowship, the meaning of its allegiance to Christ, the character of the corporate message and mission which it exists to preserve," and "its conception of how the continuity of the Christian Church is secured." Various classical statements are quoted, from Penington as much as from Barclay, and of recent times especially from Braithwaite, "the leading Quaker historian." The pamphlet is well adapted to explain to Friends, to inquirers and to outsiders, the important differences between Quakerism and the other churches as well as matters of agreement. It could be well reprinted and pondered section by section by Friendly groups or classes. In contrast to the items next mentioned it has the advantage of being the result of long group discussion and of having official approval rather than of being the expression of an individual no matter how representative he may be.

QUAKERS and the Christian Church, by Percy W. Bartlett (London, Friends Book Centre, 1942, 55 pp.), differs from the preceding in being less historical, less official and more designed to help Friends them-

selves see the significance of their difference from other churches. It aims also to emphasize the positive experience of Quakerism, since so often we seem to be marked by what we do not have—creed, clergy, sacraments, liturgy, etc. It deals with the meaning of membership of individuals in the Society of Friends in a useful way, and of what such members and the Society as a whole can contribute to the ecumenical movement. It attempts to describe the fellowship of the church, the essential functions of the church, and the Quaker contribution to the thought about the church. It inquires whether the Society might be regarded as an order within the church, and what it might do towards realizing among Christians the one spirit which more than a movement of human organization may create the unity so desirable in a world of warring nations. This pamphlet received the imprimatur of the same committee, though it claims to speak only for the author. It served as a trial balloon, or, to change the figure, it aided in testing and crystallizing opinion among English Friends on this timely subject.

THE AMERICAN ecumenical group corresponding to the British Commission named above has published the replies of individual denominational representatives to a somewhat different questionnaire along with some other matter in a book entitled, *The Nature of the Church* (Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1945, 127 pp.). The essay by Henry J. Cadbury mentioned in this BULLETIN, 33 (1944), 94, is included (pp. 77-83), entitled, "A Quaker View of the Church."

THE Rufus M. Jones Lecture, 1945, *The Meeting and its Community* (Ambler, Pennsylvania, 1946, 15 pp.) is an admirable presentation by Howard H. Brinton of a problem that seems to many Friends to require neglecting the meeting in order to serve the local community. He shows that the cultivation of one's personal religion and of the Quaker group can be or must be the means to the wider service.

THE Isaac T. and Lida K. Johnson Lecture for 1945 was given by Rufus M. Jones at the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America at Richmond, Indiana, and was entitled "Original Quakerism a *Movement,* not a *Sect.*" It was published as a twenty-four page pamphlet, and its title indicates what phase of the history and the genius of Quakerism is emphasized. "All the types of Quakerism that exist at the present moment . . . think of themselves as a branch or sect of Protestantism," but "early Quakerism was beyond question an intense mass movement of the pentecostal type." From this standpoint it is not relevant to discuss the relation of Friends to other Christians in an organized capacity.

THERE HAS now come to hand in 1946 a copy of the Leiden thesis for the degree of Doctor of Theology mentioned incompletely in this BULLETIN, 31 (1942), 45. It is by G. L. van Dalfsen, and is entitled *Het Inwaartsch Licht bij de Quakers in het Bijonder bij Barclay* (Zeist, Uitgeverij Ploegsma, 1940, 214 pp.). As most readers will recognize from

the title, it deals with the Inner Light among the Quakers, especially in Barclay. The authoress, an Old Woodbrooker and member of the Wider Quaker Fellowship, deals first with the Quakers, then with Barclay's life and work, then with his theology, before she comes to her main subject. There is a chapter comparing the message of Fox and the theology of Barclay. Her bibliography lists titles in English, Dutch and German.

THE ITEM mentioned above invites comparison with a Yale Ph.D. thesis by Rachel Hadley King on *George Fox and the Light Within, 1650-1660,* whose completion in 1937 was mentioned in this BULLETIN, 28 (1939), 6, but not its publication (Philadelphia, Friends Book Store, 1940, 177 pp.). Evidently neither authoress had opportunity to consult the work of the other either in manuscript or in print. Dr. King's thesis is closely limited to an analysis of the implications of the Quaker doctrine in the earliest writings of George Fox. It ends at a date several years before Barclay even became a Friend.

UNDER THE title "Experiment in Education" in *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* 55 (1946), 30-43, Alfred J. Wright tells the story of Miami Valley College, Springboro, Warren County, Ohio. Beginning in 1869, plans were made by a group of Friends to secure land and erect buildings. In January, 1871, Miami Valley Institute opened its doors and in 1874 was chartered as Miami Valley College and it continued until 1883 when for lack of teachers, students and money it was closed. It remained under Friends' control, the last seven years under Miami Monthly Meeting at Waynesville.

HARLOW LINDLEY has supplied a brief history of another Quaker educational institution in the state in *The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* "The Charity School of Kendal," 55 (1946) 183-188. It was established not for charity but by the will of Charity Rodman Rotch who with her husband Thomas moved from Hartford, Connecticut, to Stark County in 1811. On his death in 1823 he left money which became the original endowment of the Friends Boarding School at Barnesville. She died the next year and left about $20,000 for the founding of a school in the town where they had settled, Kendal, now included in the city of Massillon. It was opened in 1826 and after many vicissitudes closed in 1924. An agreement between the committee of the school and its superintendent in 1863 is printed in full.

AN ACCOUNT of Marjorie Hill Allee (1890-1945) by Amy Winslow in *The Horn Book Magazine,* XXII (1946), 183-195 (illustrated) is also preprinted as a brochure. It deals with her primarily as an author, and discusses the origin of her themes, many of them from the Quaker past or present. Her whole life and her character are treated with great sympathy and understanding.